

SECRET**SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY UNDER ANDROPOV**

There are no basic changes in the Soviet foreign policy under Andropov. The same team is in place, including Andropov. There are, however, changes in style which include quicker response, more skillful media and PR play, and a combination of tough talk and the appearance of reason.

Andropov Pursuing Two-Track U.S. Policy

- To show Soviet resolve in face of U.S. policy, stressing China and Third World options.
- To keep door open for better relations, improve economic ties, possible summit, and continued arms controls dialogue.
- May want better relations because open-ended arms race would hurt USSR economically, and U.S. might gain ground in Third World.

European Policy Motivated by Concern Over INF and Economic Relations

- Growing pessimism about ability to derail initial NATO deployments; although eleventh hour Soviet concession remains possible.
- If NATO deploys, Moscow is likely to initiate counter-deployments: possibly SLCMs off U.S. coast, cruise missiles in East Germany; unlikely to deploy nuclear weapons in Cuba or Central America given risks of U.S.-Soviet crisis.
- Even given counter-deployments, Soviets still likely to seek to limit NATO's planned deployments via continued arms control negotiations.

In East Europe, Soviets Remain Deeply Concerned Over Undercurrents of Political Opposition in Poland

- Andropov encouraging hardline response by Polish regime to signs of continuing dissidence.
- Also seeking to reinforce Soviet control over Polish and other East European economies.

No Signs of Impending Concessions on Afghanistan, Despite Rumors of Andropov's Flexibility

- Soviets keeping military pressure on insurgents, seeking to divide them by means of local cease fires, and by enticing Pakistan into negotiations.
- Encouragement of UN mediation effort is essentially cosmetic attempt to deflect international attention.

In Middle East, Deepening Involvement in Syria Began Before Brezhnev's Death

- Reflects Soviet desire to blunt U.S.-inspired peace process by encouraging radical Arab opposition.
- Soviets trying to block Israeli-Lebanese settlement; worried that Syria might enter into U.S. dialogue.

Elsewhere in Third World, Andropov Regime Strengthening Ties to Principal Clients

- Growing concern over anti-regime insurgencies in Mozambique and Angola may have prompted recent arms increases.
- Moscow is gradually increasing military support to Nicaragua, and seeking through surrogates and by covert action to destabilize pro-U.S. regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras.

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